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The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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OCTOBER 4, 1937

Federation of Labor Holds Convention

Split with C.I.O. Looms as Biggest Problem at Denver Meeting Which Opens Today

FIGHT FOR POWER BITTER

Rival Groups Express Conflicting Philosophies on Organization of Workers

As delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor gather at Denver this week to review their problems and to determine policies for the future, unusual attention is turned to their proceedings. This year's meeting is particularly significant, for it is being held at a time when the whole labor movement is in the process of transformation. At no time in its history has organized labor made the strides that it has made during the last year. Millions of workers have joined its ranks, until today it has reached an all-time peak. It is estimated that some 7,000,000 workers now belong to unions, or about one-sixth of all employees. The previous high record was one out of every 10 workers.

Split in Labor

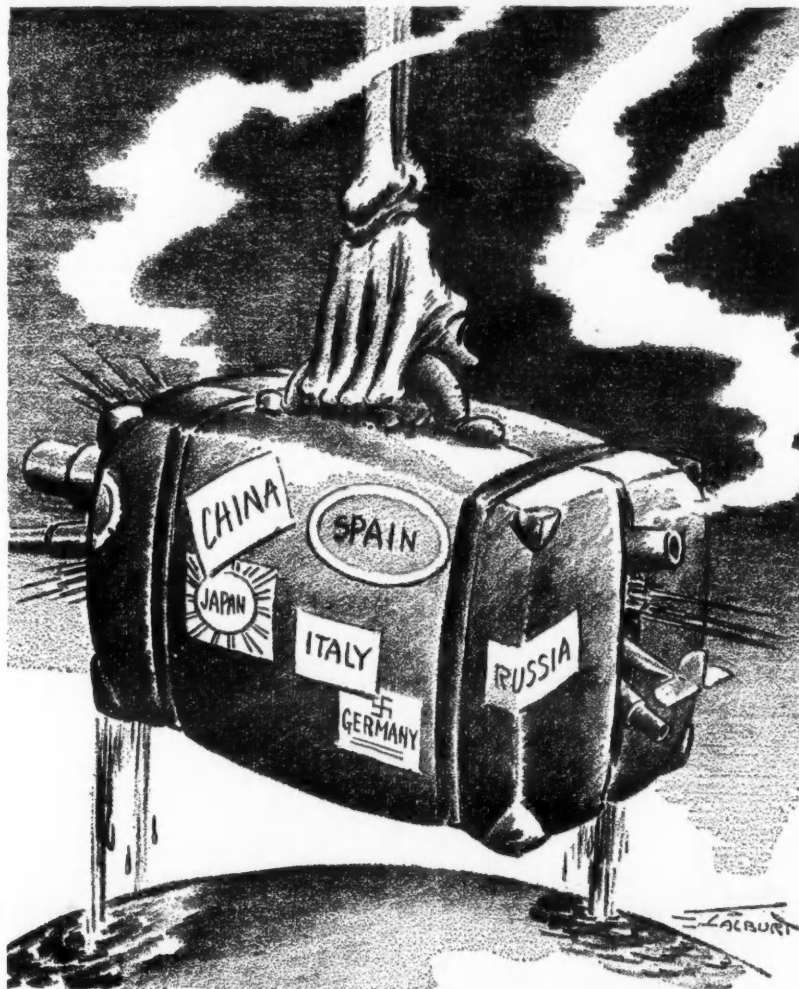
But the growth of organized labor is not the only reason why the present A. F. of L. convention holds attention for the nation as a whole. Today organized labor no longer acts as a unit. No longer does the Federation represent the voice of labor as a whole as it has done for decades. There is a mighty struggle for supremacy and domination of the movement between the A. F. of L. and its rival organization, the Committee for Industrial Organization, popularly known as the C. I. O.

In size, the two groups are about equally matched, each with an estimated membership of something over three and a half million. During the last twelvemonth, this rival organization, with its militant leader, John L. Lewis, has been the source of a constant flood of news. It has gone into industries, such as steel, rubber, automobile, which remained largely unorganized. It has sponsored strikes in all sections of the country. Its tactics and philosophy have raised as deep-seated controversy among the public at large as any confronting the nation. And while it has not succeeded in gaining the mastery of the labor movement, it has given the Federation a serious challenge.

Most of the unions which belong to the C. I. O. were formerly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They broke away from the parent organization when that body refused to go along with their plans and to carry out the program which they endorsed for American labor. So wide has the breach between the two become that there is little likelihood of its being healed. Upon the outcome of the present conflict between the opposing factions will depend the future of millions of American workers. Let us examine, therefore, the outstanding points at issue and the difference in philosophy between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

From its very beginning, the American Federation of Labor has represented the upper crust of American labor. The unions which affiliated with it were for the most part composed of skilled workers. It is true that a number of the unions were made

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WORLD CRUISE?

TALBURT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

Community Spirit

Community spirit is an essential to good citizenship. It is also an essential to happiness in one's individual life. No one can live contentedly or usefully if his attention is fixed upon his own narrow interests alone. One who seeks to achieve the goal of happiness without realizing that the goal is reached only by cooperation and helpfulness is doomed to disappointment. One must think of the community as well as himself, and the first step for the student who wishes to develop a broad community spirit to take is to achieve school spirit. The term "school spirit" is often interpreted narrowly. Sometimes students feel that they are expressing school spirit merely by supporting the athletic teams, by shouting through megaphones, by being noisy in their approval of the home team. Support of the team is a good thing so far as it goes, but it represents but a part of the obligation of one who undertakes to live and to work in the school community in a spirit of loyalty and helpfulness. The student proves his public spirit by his interest in the various activities of his school and of his fellow students. The primary and essential activity of the school is to be witnessed not on the athletic field but in the classroom. The classroom by no means represents the entire contribution of the school. The social and recreational life is important, but the classroom is the central feature of every educational institution, and one cannot be loyal to the purposes of the school without doing to the best of his ability the work which is offered in the class. It is not always easy to exhibit school spirit in this way. It requires more energy, more "pep" to hold oneself to tasks which require intellectual effort than it does for him to shout and play and make himself hoarse in his support of a team which stands out in opposition to a team from a neighboring school.

But school spirit means more than scholarship. It means an attitude of friendliness and helpful cooperation toward other students. By developing tolerance and sympathy and habits of working together and of seeing community problems in addition to personal problems, one lays the foundation for a career of public spirit which will go far to insure his own happiness as well as his effectiveness as a member of society. If such habits as these are developed by young citizens while they are in school, there will be a good chance that the habits will be continued later and that we will have a public-spirited citizenship to combat the forces of selfishness and greed which make a mockery of government in so many of our cities and which have given politics, which should be one of the most honorable of professions, the dubious reputation which it holds in the popular mind.

People Hardened to Civil War in Spain

Observer Reports That Populace Is Accustomed to Hardship and Fighting

LOYALIST AREA IS VISITED

First-Hand Account of Daily Life in Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia Reveals Present Conditions

Harry Borwick, a member of the editorial staff of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, has returned from Spain and in this article gives some of his impressions. He went into Spain from France and covered only territory in the possession of the loyalist forces. We are presenting his observations in order to give our readers a picture of the way life goes on in that war-torn nation.

There is every reason for believing that save for the outbreak of a general European war, the Spanish civil war, now well in its second year, will continue for many months to come. During recent weeks there has been a marked lack of sensational development on the battle fronts. The rebels, it is true, have occupied Santander and are pushing westward to the remaining loyalist stronghold on the Bay of Biscay; but these advances, pursued in the face of only half-hearted resistance by the government, are of but minor importance as regards the final outcome of the war. At strategic points, notably on the Aragon front, where they have concentrated a large part of their man power and equipment, the opposing armies are deadlocked, suggesting to military experts that slow, patient advances, rather than slashing drives will mark the war in its new phase. In whose favor the delicate balance will be tipped will depend partly upon the morale of the soldiers, partly upon which side employs shrewder strategy, and to some extent, as in all wars, upon sheer luck.

Delicate Balance

But whatever the outcome, the point deserving emphasis is that the balance is delicate and that, as a consequence, the 23,000,000 Spaniards not under arms must steel themselves to living amidst the turmoil of battle, for perhaps several years more. How have the normal activities of this vast majority of civilians been affected by the conflict? To what extent are they enabled to carry on commerce and industry? Are they well fed, well clothed, well housed? Have their liberties been drastically curtailed? How, if at all, do they amuse themselves?

During a sojourn in Spain, the writer sought to learn the answer to these and other questions. His observations apply, however, only to loyalist territory.

It is during the ride from the French frontier to Barcelona that the first flood of impressions surges upon the stranger. The train jogs through the night at perhaps 15 miles an hour. As a precaution against air raids, coaches are dimmed, affording just enough light for a few brief gleams to be caught by the polished handles of revolvers which their owners, preparing to stretch out for the night, transfer from side pockets to the burlap bags that serve as luggage in Spain. Upon every available space in the carriage, posters have been hung and when, at break of dawn, it is first possible to make out their writing, they are seen to contain warnings against spies, appeals for volunteers, or undisguised propaganda against "the fascist enemy."



CIVIL WAR PAYS A VISIT TO A SPANISH TOWN

WIDE WORLD

As throughout loyalist territory, where they are pasted without distinction upon apartment houses, government buildings, stores, and theaters, these posters, some of them drawn by the best of contemporary Spanish artists, are extraordinarily striking. One of them, whose text reads "Be careful what you say—the enemy may hear you," shows a worker in overalls, his lips sealed with a padlock.

At Barcelona

Perhaps nothing in Spain strikes the observer more curiously than his first glimpse of Barcelona. Stepping from the railroad station, he comes upon a broad boulevard, fairly thronged with people going about their business. Surface cars clang along in their wonted fashion. Window shoppers linger in front of stores whose displays, at least, promise a varied and abundant stock. The city does not, at this first glance, present an appearance markedly different from the Paris which it in many ways resembles.

But a leisureed walk along the boulevards soon tempers one's surprise. Windows in every building are taped with broad strips of tough paper to prevent their shattering in case of bombardment. In various parts of the city refuges have been built, where civilians may retreat during air raids or artillery shelling. Near shops rationing olive oil, as indispensable as salt to the Spanish housewife, queues of women await their turn. At night the streets are dimmed. Cafes which in the late afternoon were noisy with young men and women are practically deserted after nine o'clock. Here and there a late prowler may be seen strolling about, but most of the people either remain in their homes or gather with their neighbors in front of apartment houses to chat. Occasionally, the stillness of the night is broken by song, either a traditional Spanish air or the more vigorous tunes that soldiers have composed during their spare hours in the trenches.

One feature of Barcelona that cannot possibly escape even the most casual onlooker is the profound change that has taken place in its economic structure. This first becomes evident in a design appearing on every street car, taxicab, and truck and upon a large number of apartment houses, stores, and hotels. Inscribed within a square are two triangles—one painted red, the other black—upon which are imposed the letters CNT, representing, in Spanish, the

National Confederation of Workers. The CNT is not an ordinary labor union, seeking by collective effort to improve the living conditions of its members. In the autonomous province of Catalonia, of which Barcelona is the capital, and to a lesser extent in other regions of loyalist Spain, it has been little short of a supergovernment. Defying more moderate opinion, the CNT has brought a considerable part of Spanish industry either directly under its control or under that of workers' committees over whom it exercises careful supervision.

This is not to deny, however, that once saddled with responsibility, the CNT leaders set themselves energetically to the task of encouraging production, improving labor conditions, and raising wages. It is largely due to the initiative of this body that rents throughout loyalist Spain have been halved. Textile manufacture in Catalonia goes on with unabated pace, which accounts for the fact that clothing is plentiful. Moreover, the CNT, egged on by a war industries board, has shown considerable ingenuity in converting large industrial plants into munition factories, so that bullets and shells are made at plants formerly putting out lipstick and silk stockings.

Lack of Necessities

On the whole, Barcelona has been spared the more obvious ravages of war. A few buildings in the main square of the city have been scarred; there is a lack of many necessities; such things as soap are prohibitively expensive to the average wage earner; but by comparison with Madrid, the city can regard itself as fortunate.

Madrid is a metropolis with deep open wounds. One entire quarter has been demolished by the rebel bombs and only an occasional flower pot, still blooming and drinking in the sun, serves to remind one that these buildings were inhabited not 200 years but rather less than a year ago. Along the main avenues heaps of sandbags thrust upward to the second story, and in order to get into shops one has to go around these barricades or, where they do not rise so high, climb over them. Throughout the day rifle fire does not permit the Madrilenos to forget that scarcely a mile removed from the Puerto del Sol, Madrid's celebrated central square, the front lines of the war begin.

While Madrid has for some time now been spared air raids, it is occasionally harassed by artillery shelling. The writer was in Madrid on August 25, during a particularly severe attack. The rebel batteries began their shelling at 12:15 in the morning and did not cease until close to one. More than 150 of the deadly missiles landed in the city, killing 10 persons and injuring more than 30. Early the following morning, crews of men gathered the debris.

Artillery Attacks

Artillery shelling lacks the drama and color of an air raid. When planes appear over a city during the night, powerful searchlights, scouring the sky, sometimes catch the enemy within the orbit of their rays. There follows a gripping play of light and shadows, accentuated for the observer who ventures into the street, by both the sharp rat-tat-tat of the antiaircraft guns and the penetrating but low-pitched siren which warns people of an impending assault.

Artillery fire has none of this color. It is much more terrifying, because there is a pause of several seconds from the moment you first hear the shell swishing from the mouth of the battery to the moment when it crashes into its target. During those several seconds, you are uncomfortably aware that a shell capable of tearing through a stone wall, scattering shrapnel that is always deadly, is piercing through the air at a terrific speed, and you quite naturally wonder whether it may not land near you.

To the never-ending amazement of foreign journalists, the Madrilenos dismiss these attacks with a dignified contempt, often scorning the refuges provided for them.

Food Shortage

What they cannot so lightly dismiss is the acute food shortage. No one is dying from starvation, it is true, but it is impossible to obtain but the barest diet. Going through the markets of the city, long queues of housewives may be seen waiting at butcher shops to buy meat bones. The bones are used in soup, which constitutes one course in the evening meal; the meat attached to the bones, though meager enough, is perhaps turned into a stew, which constitutes the second course; the marrow within, a succulent dessert, brings

the dinner to a close. Milk can be secured only for children or in the case of adults by the express request of a doctor. Valencia, not faced with as difficult a problem as Madrid in the matter of transportation, is much better provided. The foreigner staying at a hotel may not get as much bread as he craves, but he can get plentiful helpings of Valencia rice, a fair amount of vegetables, and even such delicacies as snails. Moreover, having obtained meat, he can be fairly certain that it is that of a steer and not of a donkey.

While space does not permit dwelling at any length upon innumerable details of life in Spain today, there are a few that may be briefly mentioned. One of the most pressing problems facing the authorities is the provision of living quarters in Valencia. This city, which before the war had a population of 340,000, has to house an additional half a million, some of the newcomers, refugees from Madrid, the remainder a large body of workers who moved from Madrid at the time the government transferred its headquarters to Valencia. It is difficult to get a hotel room, and if one is finally successful, he must share it with others. Three or four families frequently live in the same apartment, managing as best they can.

Newspapers

The newspapers throughout Spain are almost entirely filled with war news and articles bearing directly upon economic and social changes taking place in the state. Most foreign news receives but little attention. The Sino-Japanese war, however, has been prominently featured and the press terms Shanghai "the Madrid of the Far East." Three days after the event, one newspaper did have a small item about the defeat of Tommy Farr by Joe Louis.

Every item in the press is, of course, carefully scrutinized by the censor, and at times news stories break off in the middle, where the censor has ordered the type to be scrapped. It may be said, however, that under Premier Juan Negrin, in sharp contrast to former Premier Caballero, news dispatches have not hesitated to admit loyalist setbacks at the front. All letters sent through the mails are also censored, so that it is of course impossible, should anyone be minded to do so, to write any

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, PUBLISHED WEEKLY (EXCEPT TWO ISSUES IN DECEMBER AND TWO ISSUES IN AUGUST), AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FOR SEPTEMBER 20, 1937.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the District aforesaid, personally appeared Walter E. Myer, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Civic Education Service, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Editor, Walter E. Myer, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Business Manager, Ruth G. Myer, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
2. That the owners are Walter E. Myer, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; and Ruth G. Myer, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

WALTER E. MYER, Editor
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1937.

Julian E. Caraballo
Notary Public, District of Columbia.
My Commission expires February 15, 1942.

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AROUND THE WORLD

Far East: Death and destruction continued last week throughout the principal cities of China as Japanese aviators continued to pour their bombs upon the defenseless inhabitants. The Japanese appear determined to break the morale of the Chinese. The war is no longer confined to the military front, as thousands of civilians are being slaughtered. Great cities, inhabited by helpless men, women, and children, are being laid to waste.

Before the Japanese launched their air attack upon the Chinese capital, Nanking, they warned all foreigners, including the American diplomatic representatives, to evacuate the city. The embassy staff temporarily left the city for a gunboat on the Yangtze, only to move back shortly thereafter. The leading governments of the world, including the United States, sent stiff notes of protest to Japan, branding her attack of Nanking as inhuman. The Nanking episode has done more to stir up opposition in foreign countries than any other act in the war.

As time goes on, the likelihood that Russia will be drawn into the fray grows greater. The Japanese are claiming that the Soviets have concluded a treaty with China promising to give her aid. They charge that large quantities of Russian supplies are being shipped to China.

Meanwhile, the Soviet government is whipping its citizens into an anti-Japanese fury. Demonstrations have been fostered, and troop mobilizations have been increased on the Manchoukuo border. It is a tense situation which may have dangerous consequences.

Germany: For the second time during the course of their careers as dictators, Mussolini and Hitler have met and held long conversation with each other. This time, unlike the first unhappy occasion at Venice in 1934, the widely heralded meeting appears to have strengthened the bond which has grown between the two countries. In short public speeches both men stressed the fact of Italo-German solidarity, and indicated that they were prepared to stand fast together for the support of their mutual interests.

How much really was accomplished by the meeting will probably have to await the development of events, for the conversations were naturally veiled in secrecy. The signs are that the Rome-Berlin axis is neither much more nor less than it was before. It is reported that Mussolini obtained Germany's promise of continued support for his policy of intervention in Spain, but that Hitler cautioned him to go slowly lest he arouse too much the ire of France and Great Britain.



"PLAY THE GAME, YOU CHAPS!"

STRUBE, COURTESY WASHINGTON POST

For the rest, the world will have to wait and see. It is possible that the Berlin meeting will prove to be the prelude to a new invitation to Great Britain and France, to join in a four-power pact, designed to assure the security of Western Europe and to cut the ties which link Russia to France. This is a cherished ambition of Mussolini, but many difficulties are in the pathway of realization, not the least of which is Spain. On the other hand, it is possible that Italy and Germany will proceed with their policies of bluff and bluster which have succeeded so well in the past. They know that they can afford to take chances, so long as British rearmament is incomplete, a condition which will endure for perhaps two more years. After that it will be too hazardous to affront Great Britain. If this is the policy which has been decided upon, Europe must prepare for more and greater moments of uneasiness.

Canada: Despite the failure of provincial experiments in new economic panaceas, such as the social credit scheme of Alberta, Canada is enjoying a wave of prosperity that does not in any way threaten, at the moment, to recede. Statistics being compiled by the government show that, during this year, the dominion has jumped to fifth place among world exporters, almost \$4,000,000 of goods leaving her boundaries each day. Exports to the United States during the past seven months have increased about 40 per cent

over the corresponding period in 1936. The American government's gold purchasing policy accounts only partly for this rise. There has been a decided improvement also in the shipments to this country of cattle, newsprint, copper, lead, and nickel.

Ethiopia: An entire colony of 300 Italians, stationed in the northern Ethiopian town of Makale, has been massacred by native tribesmen, according to reports reaching London. Civilians, as well as a small military garrison, were victims of the slaughter. While Fascist officials in Rome describe these reports as "fantastic," a rather surprising coincidence inclines well-informed London circles to accept them at their face value. The day after accounts of the Makale massacre circulated in the British press, Italian newspapers reported, under the headline "Inexorable Italian Justice," the execution of four Italian workmen in Ethiopia accused of killing five natives.

The coincidence is explained in this way. Premier Mussolini's efforts of the past year to obtain recognition of his conquest of Ethiopia have been bearing fruit. Great Britain, anxious to arrive at a settlement of the Mediterranean problem, is prepared, at the first favorable opportunity, to grant that recognition. But she would find it embarrassing, if not impossible, to take such a step without unquestioned evidence that Italian authority is supreme throughout Ethiopia. That is why Rome, in addition to denying the Makale incident, has been featuring the execution of the Italian workmen. It hopes thereby to give the impression that not only has it subdued the natives, but that it is administering justice without favor to both the Italian newcomers and the natives.

England: Responding to the demand of progressive social organizations that prisons be regarded as institutions of reform rather than of punishment, the British home secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, has mapped an extensive program which if carried out will be a new deal for convicts. Until now, except for short-term prisoners interned for petty crimes, convicts have not been paid for their work. In the future, they will receive about 50 cents a week, not an impressive sum, but enough to make the convicts feel that despite their crimes, society regards them as productive citizens who, when they have paid their penalty, can make themselves useful citi-

zens. At church services, guards will no longer occupy conspicuous posts. Prisoners will be made to feel—during that hour—that no high walls separate them from the millions of others praying throughout the churches of England. Finally, a number of new prisons will be built which, while not pandering to luxury, are expected to be a decided improvement over those in which inmates are now huddled.

Russia: When the Soviet leaders began the reconstruction of Russia, they realized that their nation needed a vast amount of power to produce low-rate electricity for lighting homes and turning the wheels of their industries. Now they are commencing the construction of a huge power station on the Volga River, 540 miles east of Moscow. The station will be the largest project of the third Five-Year Plan and the most spectacular single detail in the program to remake Russia.

The plans call for the construction of a concrete dam over a mile and a half long which will raise the height of the Volga nearly 300 feet. After the waters of the Volga are hitched to the dynamos on the dam, it is expected that by 1942 the plant will provide one-third of all the electricity that will be required in the industries and homes of Russia. Water stored up by the immense dam will also be used to irrigate more than 6,000,000 acres of farm



THE NEW ARMY GAME
MARCUS IN N. Y. TIMES

land, while the greatly increased depth of the Volga River will permit more extensive shipping into interior Russia.

SPAIN

(Concluded from page 2, column 4)

criticism of the loyalist government. There is an intense interest displayed throughout loyalist territory in what is going on in Russia. Bookstalls teem with revolutionary pamphlets and books on communism. The clenched fist, whether out of fear or zeal, is everywhere apparent. On the facade of the Hotel Nacional in Madrid is a huge portrait of Stalin and displays of communist propaganda are exhibited in the Barcelona subways. While the writer cannot speak from first-hand observation of conditions in fascist Spain, he has been informed by neutral journalists that fascist propaganda is equally intense. The writer did see a rebel newspaper published in Salamanca and can say that it was not distinguished by its restraint.

Whatever else the war may have done to the Spaniards, it has not diminished their enthusiasm for movies, nor subdued their almost childish delight in Mickey Mouse films. Crowds gather at theaters every night. The loyalists would prefer, of course, to import guns from the United States, but they have to remain content with the glitter of Hollywood.



WIDE WORLD

THE CANAL THAT RUNS THROUGH THE CITY OF NANKING
These are the type of buildings which were hit during initial Japanese bombardments of the Chinese capital. The straw houses were easily demolished and set afire.



THE AMERICAN LEGION CHEERS ITS NEW COMMANDER
Framed under waving state standards, Harry W. Colmery (left), of Kansas, congratulates his successor, Daniel Doherty of Massachusetts, after the latter's election at the final session of the nineteenth Legion convention, held recently in New York.

The President Goes West

As President Roosevelt proceeded on his tour of the West, speculation continued as to the real purpose of the trip. Despite the denials, considerable political significance was attached to the President's visit to the Northwest, as the trip was so routed as to take him through the states of several of the senators who opposed his Supreme Court reform program. It was reported that he would seek to win support for the program and at the same time deal a political blow at his opponents. If such was the purpose of the journey, there was little surface indication of it in the early stages, although in crossing the state of Nebraska he did not confer with Senator Burke, one of the leaders in the fight against his court measure. When he arrived in Wyoming, he did nothing to prevent Senator O'Mahoney, another leader in the fight, from riding on his train. Not too much significance was attached to either of these acts.

Although the President was "taking in" more than he was "putting out," he did give some indication of his future plans. Requests for heavy expenditures on the part of the federal government to assist various classes of the population failed to receive an encouraging response, and the general feeling seemed to be that he would make a more determined effort to balance the budget as soon as possible. At Cheyenne he reassured his listeners concerning the financial condition of the country.

CIO and Sit-downs

The CIO seems to be acquiring some of the responsibility which employers and the general public have been asking of it. Last week the United Automobile Workers, one of the largest of the CIO unions, agreed with General Motors to suppress unauthorized sit-down strikes. Only strikes which are called by the national office are to be recognized by the CIO—the company can deal with the unauthorized strikes as it sees fit, without having the CIO oppose the disciplinary measures.

The sit-down strikes were particularly effective in organizing the automobile industry. After General Motors had signed an agreement with the CIO recognizing it as the bargaining agent for the laborers, however, radical elements in the plants kept right on calling sit-down strikes for any minor grievance which they had. These strikes slowed down production. They also hurt the cause of the CIO, because it was said that the union could not control its own members, and was not responsible for the agreements which it made.

Such "outlaw" sit-down strikes have been decreasing in number lately, as the CIO has strengthened its organization and consolidated its membership. At the recent convention of the automobile workers, the union went on record opposing the promiscuous use of sit-down strikes, and the agreement with General Motors seems to be the first step toward carrying out their ideas.

Exit the PWA

President Roosevelt posted the death notice of another New Deal agency recently when

he announced that no more funds would be allotted to the Public Works Administration. The PWA will carry on for the next two years to complete the billion dollars' worth of projects now under construction, and to distribute \$250 millions which it still has.

The PWA was created within the Department of Interior in 1933 to start the wheels of industry revolving again. On its building projects, it has paid out one and one-quarter billion dollars in wages, and two billion dollars for materials. Some of these projects were built entirely by the federal government; others were financed in part by the PWA and in part by cities or states. PWA officials say that two-thirds of the money spent came from local government. Altogether, the PWA was



BACK ON THE JOB
Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, as he returned to Washington from a three months' vacation in New Hampshire and Quebec to prepare for the new session of the Supreme Court.

responsible for four-fifths of the public building done during the depression—school houses, power plants, sewage disposal systems, auditoriums, bridges, dams, canals, highways, libraries, and city halls, in all of the 48 states.

President Roosevelt does not intend to abandon a program of public works, however. He said that he would discuss a permanent program in the near future, one which will provide \$500 millions for flood control, soil erosion preventives, river and harbor improvement, navigation aids, drought region reservoirs, and reforestation. He seems to think that the PWA has served its purpose, and that a long-range program should replace it.

Grand Coulee

One of the points which President Roosevelt will visit on his trip to the west is the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River, 92 miles west of Spokane, Washington. The dam, when completed, will be the largest cement structure in the world—two and one-

The Week in the

What the American People Are

half times the size of Boulder Dam or the great pyramid of Egypt. The dam and the power plants on either side of it should be finished in four years at the present rate of construction. First started as a PWA project, Grand Coulee Dam was later included under a rivers and harbors appropriation. It will cost about \$186 millions to complete the dam and the power plants.

There are various purposes for the Grand Coulee Dam—flood control, improved navigation, generation of hydroelectric power, irrigation, and domestic water supply. The figures concerning the dam are staggering. When finished, it will be 550 feet high and three-quarters of a mile long. It will back up the water 150 miles, almost to the Canadian border. Its power plants will generate two and one-half million horsepower—Boulder Dam generates a million less, while the Dniester plant of Russia, the largest in Europe, generates only 750,000 horsepower.

The dam will supply enough water to irrigate 1,200,000 fertile acres of the Columbia Valley. An interesting outgrowth of the project is that the government has already provided for an appraisal of all property which might be served by the dam. Since the value of that property would ordinarily increase greatly because of the possibilities of irrigation, the government has moved to protect it from speculators by setting the resale price of the property at its present appraisal value.

Farley May Resign

Every so often the story gets out that James A. Farley is about to resign his position as postmaster general. Lately the stories have been appearing frequently, and this time it seems that the report may be true. Mr. Farley is supposed to be considering a position as president of the Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company. It is said, however, that he will wait until the company completes a reorganization of its finances before taking office, which may take a month or more.

Mr. Farley will not be cutting all his ties with President Roosevelt and the New Deal if he resigns from the cabinet. He will still be chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and in that position he will guide the party through the congressional elections next year. He has long been associated with the Democratic party, first in the state of New York, where he helped elect Mr. Roosevelt governor of the state. The President favored his election as chairman of the Democrats in 1932, and rewarded his campaign work by appointing him postmaster general in 1933.

Fighting Paralysis

A new national foundation to coordinate and direct the fight against infantile paralysis in the United States was announced recently by President Roosevelt. The announcement came at a time when an epidemic of the disease was raging in the Middle West, shutting down Chicago schools and taking daily toll in many communities. The President, himself a victim of the disease, has always taken a great interest in the means of combating infantile paralysis. Ten years ago he started and became president of the Warm Springs Foundation in Georgia. Every year on the President's birthday, many cities all over the nation hold Birthday Balls, the proceeds going to the campaign against paralysis. The President did not say how the new foundation was to be financed; he said that many of the details would be decided later, but that the foundation was definitely assured.

"I firmly believe that the time has now arrived when the whole attack on this plague should be led and directed, though not controlled, by one national body," said the President. At the present time, there are 16 research centers investigating infantile paralysis, and there are 100 hospitals which treat its victims. Paralysis does not strike a large number of persons, compared to the death rates of cancer and tuberculosis, but it usu-

ally leaves its victims seriously handicapped for life.

The Sales Tax

Twenty-two states are now using a sales tax to fill their coffers. Although the sales tax falls heavily on the poor, many states continue to use it because it brings in a great



deal of revenue. Last year they collected 32 per cent of their income from it—more than from any other single source.

Most states have tokens, representing one or two mills, which must be paid by the purchaser along with any purchase. A loaf of bread in Kansas, for instance, costs 10 cents and a token. The tokens are purchased from the state at five two-mill tokens for a penny. Most tokens are made of metal, minted in all sorts of queer shapes and sizes. Some of them resemble Chinese money. Perhaps the most unusual are the milk bottle caps used in Missouri.

West Virginia adopted the sales tax in 1921. Thirteen states followed suit in 1933, when falling revenues, because of the depression, forced the states to invent some new tax which would bring in enough money to operate the government. It was thought that the sales tax would die out when the depression showed signs of lifting. Idaho dropped its sales tax this year, and Maine and Oregon voted against imposing one. But Alabama and Kansas imposed taxes in 1937. A few cities, New York, Kansas City, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Charleston, West Virginia, have adopted varieties of the sales tax.

—And a Loaf of Bread

Bread is now at a higher price than it has been in seven years. It was half a cent higher last August than in August 1936. The increase, it is estimated, has cost the American people \$50 millions, since approximately 10



THE GRAND COULEE DAM PROJECT IN WASHINGTON

the United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

million loaves of bread are purchased every year. Department of Agriculture economists say there is no reason for this increase in the cost of bread. Wholesale prices of the ingredients which go into white bread were lower in August than at any time in the last three years. Prices were higher, it is true, but it is claimed that they were not high enough to account

Both the federal and the state governments take advantage of this form of taxation, because it brings in large revenue. Those who paid the tax felt that they were getting their money's worth when the fund, usually amounting to one and one-quarter billion dollars a year, was used to build a good highway system. But when the states started using the money from gasoline taxes for other purposes, motorists began to protest. More than a billion dollars has gone to other uses, it is estimated.

These protests came generally from organizations such as the American Automobile Association. They have resulted in laws against diverting the gasoline taxes to other purposes in several states, and in arousing sentiment against such diversion in others.

350 Years Later

Roanoke Island, scene of the first attempt to establish an English colony in America, will soon be a national park. Last session Congress created the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, including this narrow island off the coast of North Carolina. The territory is almost as wild as it was in 1587, when a colony sent by Sir Walter Raleigh set foot on the island. There they built cabins and a log fortress. Virginia Dare, the first native white American, was born on Roanoke. But three years later, when supply ships returned, the colony has disappeared completely. No trace of it was ever found, and it was not until 1607 that a permanent English colony was established at Jamestown.

Roanoke Island and the territory around it have never been thickly settled. The people who live in the few small towns scattered thereabouts use the words and expressions which were common in England several hundred years ago. Where they came from is nearly as much of a mystery as what happened to the lost colony. It is likely that their ancestors were the survivors of shipwrecks along the dangerous coast.

The new national park will be the only ocean shore park in the United States. Its wild state will be preserved as a wild life and bird sanctuary. Bathing and amusement facilities will be established in several places.

Why Birds Leave Home

The migration of birds has long been a source of interesting myths and stories. We know a great deal more about these seasonal flights than our ancestors knew, yet there is much to learn. In *Harper's* for October 1937, George Dock, Jr., gives an interesting account of the latest contributions to this study. Mr. Dock believes that one important reason for the northern flight is the increased daylight in the northern country. To prove his point, he gives figures on the enormous amount of food which parent birds must supply to their offspring. To gather this food, he says, the birds must have the 15 or 16 hours of daylight which the temperate zone provides, instead of the 12-hour day of the tropics.

Bird-banding is among the most fruitful methods of studying migration, says Mr. Dock. He continues:

Under the sponsorship of the U. S. Biological Survey, more than 2½ million birds of more than 400 American species have had a numbered hard aluminum band placed upon one leg, and have then been released. The banding is painless and harmless, usually performed after catching adult small birds in traps, or hawks and game birds in the nest. More than 150,000 banded birds have been found or retrapped, often thousands of miles from where they were banded. Such birds are reported to the proper authorities in any nation where they are found. Incredible are some of the epics that those records tell.

A duck banded in England was shot on the Chesapeake Bay. A European gull from the Baltic Sea was found at Vera Cruz in Mexico, only six months later. A common tern tagged in a nesting colony in Maine was picked up dead on the Niger River in West Africa four years afterward, and an Arctic tern banded in Labrador was found ten weeks later on the Bay of Biscay in France—4,200 miles away. A white-throated sparrow was trapped in three different winters in the same Georgia garden, hundreds of miles from its nesting place in some northern state.



THE HYRACODON—THIS ANIMAL WAS A RHINOCEROS ALTHOUGH HE LOOKED LIKE A HORSE
From a restoration by C. R. Knight, courtesy American Museum of Natural History. Illustration in "Animals on the March," by W. Maxwell Reed and Jannette M. Lucas.

NEW BOOKS

A BOOK which recommends itself as a light autobiography is "East Goes West," by Younghill Kang (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75). Both the title and the author's name suggest that he is an Oriental. To be exact, he is a young Korean who came to New York from his native land when he was only 18 years old. He came, anxious to learn everything about the West—about its people, its customs, its cities, and the knowledge in its universities. This was a big order, but he threw himself wholeheartedly

write a book. He probably produced his novels to relieve the strain which he suffered from the long and uncertain hours of a heavy medical practice.

Finally, however, he enjoyed such a success as an author that he retired for good from the world of medicine to devote his full time to writing. Dr. Cronin's most recent novel is "The Citadel" (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. \$2.50). In writing this book he has taken the occasion to use his knowledge of medicine, for it is the story of a young Scotch physician, Andrew Manson, who rose from the obscurity of a poorly paid practice in the Welsh mining country to become one of the leading society doctors in London. His wife, Christine, constantly helped him, both as an understanding companion and as an office assistant.

However, the rise brought with it sorrows, for Andrew learned that society doctors were not the kind of medical associates which he desired. He therefore set about to rebuild his ideals in a new environment. Dr. Cronin has written into this fascinating story an accusation against his own profession. He seems to be using the novel as a means to bring to light some of the conditions in the medical field which he thinks need to be corrected.

* * *

MOST scientists, however learned, cannot put their vast knowledge into books which are interesting to the lay reader. Among the occasional exceptions to this rule are W. Maxwell Reed and Jannette M. Lucas, who wrote "Animals on the March" (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. \$3). They have made an intensive study of the several hundred million years of animal history, and condensed this knowledge into a fascinating story.

Their book is a good illustration that seemingly dry scientific research can become interesting to everyone when it is translated into understandable language. For instance, they discuss why the sabre-toothed tiger became extinct, and why elephants no longer inhabit the western hemisphere. Probably most scientists would become involved in a maze of long words to answer these questions, but Miss Lucas and Mr. Reed succeed in explaining the changes with everyday language. They have chosen many good drawings and photographs to illustrate this valuable book on the animal world.

* * *

VERY often the student of current history wants a handy reference book for photographs of the leaders in our nation's government, as well as scenic views of the principal government buildings and monuments. A good book for this purpose is "Your National Capital." Besides excellent photographs of President Roosevelt, Vice-President Garner, and the Supreme Court justices, there are individual pictures of each of the members in the 75th Congress. A facsimile reproduction of the first page of the Constitution and pictures of the government buildings are among other features of this book, which may be obtained for one dollar from the International Bank, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

—J. H. A.



A TEST OF HORSEMANSHIP
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

for the increased price. There is no way to regulate the price, of course, except for the consumers to protest against high prices. Recently, groups of consumers in eastern cities have protested against high rents and high prices for milk, and their demands have been met by the landlords and the dairymen.

Counting the Unemployed

The government's attempt to count the nation's unemployed will be made next month. Directed by John D. Biggers, the task of registering all the men and women who are looking for work will be handled through the Post Office Department. Postmen in every community throughout the nation will leave questionnaires at 31 million homes. The unemployed will fill out these questionnaires and return them to the post office. All the registering will be completed within a short period of time. Then the Department of Commerce will conduct a few house-to-house canvasses in special areas, to see how reliable the registration is. It will take many weeks to compile and interpret the results of the count, but Mr. Biggers hopes to complete it by March, so that Congress may have the results of the census when it considers legislation to help the unemployed at its next session.

The Gas Tax

Automobile drivers are used to paying a tax on each gallon of gasoline which is often half as much as the cost of the gasoline itself.



THE PRESIDENT PLANNED TO VISIT ON HIS TRIP WEST



HARRIS & EWING
COUNTER OF THE JOBLESS
John D. Biggers, Toledo glass manufacturer, who has accepted temporary government employment at \$1.00 a year, to administer a census of the unemployed.

into the task. Today he is a professor of literature at New York University, at least one evidence that he succeeded in his venture.

But the book does not describe his life clear to the time of his present attainments. It is the story only of the early stages in the making of an Oriental Yankee—days when the youthful Kang worked long hours in restaurants, hotels, and stores, and hoed weeds and sold books to make his semesters' tuition in eastern universities. Humor, near-tragedy, hunger, and hardship, all are mixed into his account. With its good description of his impressions and experiences, it is an autobiography that is pleasant to read.

* * *

SOME of the best authors became interested in writing only after they had established themselves in other professions. Such a writer is A. J. Cronin, an Englishman who practiced as a physician until he was 38 years old. Even before he took down his doctor's shingle and quit prescribing pills and tonics, Dr. Cronin would occasionally find time to

F. C. C. Organizes New Controls Over Communications Facilities

PRIOR to 1934, federal regulation of the means of communication — telephone, telegraph, and radio—was extremely sketchy and incomplete. In 1910 the Interstate Commerce Commission had been given the power to regulate the telephone and telegraph companies, but the Commission was interested primarily in the transportation utilities, and the communications companies were for the most part left to their own devices.

Regulation of broadcasting had been hardly more extensive. In 1912 the secretary of commerce and labor was empowered to license radio stations, and was instructed to encourage the development of radio wherever possible. This meager federal supervision was not enough to provide for the orderly development of the rapidly growing radio industry in the years following the war, and in 1927 the Federal Radio Commission was established, and was clothed with greater authority to keep the activities of broadcasters in check.

FCC Established

By 1934 Congress, at the instance of the Roosevelt administration, deemed it advisable to consolidate the supervision of the nation's communication facilities under one head. The Federal Communications Commission was thus established, and it has since been engaged in the task of organizing its controls over the telephone, telegraph, and radio industries. The Commission, composed of seven members, no more than four of whom can be of the same political party, is at present headed by Frank R. McNinch, until recently chairman of the Federal Power Commission.

The first duty of the FCC is to protect the public and to provide the people of the United States with a rapid, efficient, nationwide, and worldwide system of communications. It sees to it that the telephone and telegraph companies charge reasonable rates and give good service, that the radio stations are coordinated and that they do not permit false or misleading advertising. Although its power is limited to interstate communication, the limitation imposes only slight restrictions, except in the case of the telephone, since the telegraph and radio are interstate in character. In regulating the telephone companies, the FCC has been working with the state commissions already in existence.

All has not been peace and harmony within the FCC during the three years of its existence. There have been arguments and dissension among the members of the Commission as to its powers and methods of procedure. The importance of the power which the FCC wields is best shown by the size of the utilities which it controls. There are today 18 million telephones in the nation, doing a business which amounts to one and one-quarter billion dollars a

year, supporting 300,000 employees, using 88 million miles of wire. The telegraph companies do an annual business of 142 million dollars, and use two million miles of wire. There are 30 million receiving sets in the United States which serve almost two-thirds of the population, and 22,000 employees work for the 715 broadcasting stations. The FCC has clearly a big job on its hands.

The accomplishment to date has been considerable. The telephone companies presented the most complex problem which the FCC faced in 1934. Congress instructed the FCC to make a thorough investigation of the telephone companies, and this investigation was used as a basis for a great deal of reform. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company handles about half of the nation's telephoning, while some 6,000 independent companies compete with it. But the FCC supervises the competition and sees to it that it does not interfere with cheap and efficient service. Rates have gone down and service has improved since 1934. The FCC makes certain that the companies do not make rate discriminations, that there are no interlocking directorates which enable men to influence several companies, that the companies do not juggle their finances to make possible higher rates, and that they keep uniform and accurate accounts from which the FCC may get a clear picture of their activities.

Telegraph Field

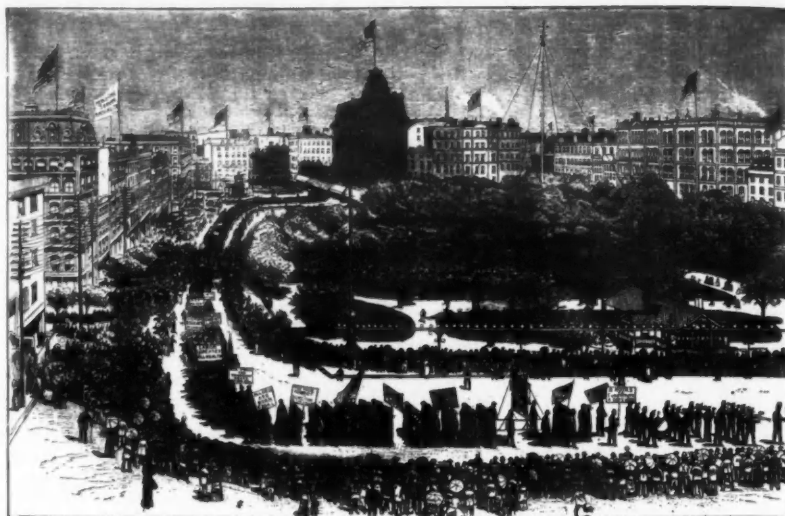
The Commission's power in the telegraph field is much the same as that which it exercises over the telephone. At one time the A. T. & T. controlled the Western Union, and this combination boosted the rates for both services. The FCC is supposed to prevent such monopolies from setting higher rates. Since the telegraph companies are smaller and do less business than the telephone companies, they have been easier to regulate and reform.

The FCC licenses all radio stations, commercial and short-wave, and assigns them broadcasting frequencies and time on the air. Anning Prall, former chairman of the FCC, claimed the following accomplishments for the FCC after a year's work:

High-powered advertising announcements have been toned down; commercial continuities are in better form; the two major chains have adopted entirely new policies and have outlawed programs advertising internal medicine or bordering upon the improper. Their action has been quickly followed by practically all responsible independent stations. Today the number of quack medicine, fortune-telling, lottery, and other schemes, broadcast with the end in view of fooling or defrauding the public, is at a minimum. The FCC will not stop until all of them are off the air.

An important feature of the FCC is that it has brought into existence an agency which is capable of taking control and integrating the nation's entire system of communication in time of crisis—war, for instance. The government can have at its disposal one huge communication system which reaches into every community of the nation and which even circles the globe. Many see danger in having such powers placed within easy reach of the federal government. This feeling is held particularly by those who oppose the growing tendency toward centralization of power in the national government.

There has been considerable criticism of the FCC because of some of its radio decisions. It has been charged that political pressure has been brought to bear on the licensing of stations. On the other hand, Dr. Irvin Stewart, who left the FCC last spring when his commission expired, criticized the Commission because it had not been more strict in regulating the big chains, the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System.



A LABOR PARADE IN UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, IN 1882

CULVER SERVICE

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

History of the Labor Movement

THE annual convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session at Denver, Colorado, is being held at an important moment in the history of organized labor. Not only has organized labor made greater strides during the last year than at any time in its history, but the conflict between the Federation and its rival organization, the Committee for Industrial Organization, popularly known as the C. I. O., may have far-reaching consequences upon the future of the American labor movement. It is important, therefore, to examine the outstanding developments in that movement.

The labor movement in the United States was born with the industrial revolution. The excruciating conditions which workers were compelled to bear—low pay, long hours, unsanitary mills and factories, payment in goods rather than cash, company stores, absence of protective legislation, and dozens of others—all led workers to organize themselves into unions to improve their status.

After the Civil War

But until the time of the Civil War, most of the labor unions were local and exerted little influence. Largely due to the impetus given by the war, industry became more powerful, and workers were quick to recognize the need of organization to protect themselves against unfair practices. The first important attempt to combine labor unions into a powerful national organization came in 1866 with the formation of the National Labor Union, which at one time boasted a membership of some 600,000. It was dealt a severe blow, however, by the depression which came in 1873, and it never recovered.

The most promising of the early national organizations was the Knights of Labor—at first a secret organization. Its membership grew rapidly until it reached a peak in the eighties. Although there were craft unions in the Knights, it was basically an organization of industrial unions. It undertook to organize all types of workers, men and women, skilled and unskilled, white and colored. For its time, it was extremely radical, demanding such reforms as the eight-hour day, income and inheritance taxes, government ownership of public utilities, and the development of cooperatives. Its decline was due primarily to the fact that it undertook to accomplish too much in too short a time and without adequate preparation. Many of its strikes failed, and public opinion gradually turned against it. Moreover, the Knights had never succeeded in winning over many of the powerful craft unions and thus they suffered from a basic weakness.

The American Federation of Labor was itself organized in 1886. Its nucleus was the strong craft unions, and its leaders adhered to a philosophy widely at variance

with that of the Knights of Labor. They had little faith in direct political action, believing that labor could best attain its objectives by presenting a strong labor front to employers. Although it grew slowly at first, it succeeded in pushing the rival organization into the background and winning for itself the position of spokesman for American organized labor.

At no time in its history has the A. F. of L. represented a majority of American workmen. At its previous peak in 1920, it represented no more than 10 per cent of the workers, the great masses remaining entirely unorganized. But the unions which comprised it had a strong and militant leadership and were largely responsible for many of the gains which labor made during the war and postwar years. During its entire history, the A. F. of L. represented the cream of American labor, the skilled workers who were organized according to crafts. No great appeal was made to the great body of unskilled workers, although there were in the Federation a number of industrial unions, the outstanding of which was the United Mine Workers.

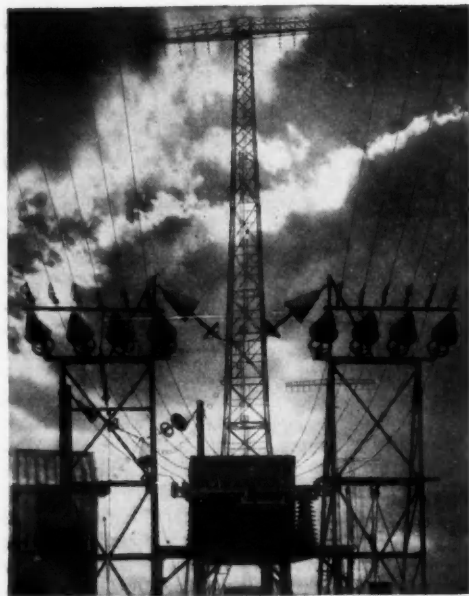


DAVID S. MUZZEY

Disputes Arise

For several years before the break in the ranks of organized labor, there were rumblings of dissatisfaction among certain Federation groups. Men like John L. Lewis believed that organized labor should make an appeal to the great masses of workers as well as to the elite. They favored the industrial union, which would contain all workers in a given industry, regardless of the type of work performed. They believed that only in this way could the millions of workers in the great mass-production industries be organized.

The industrial unionists, however, were never strong enough to put across their program at meetings of the Federation. When they took it upon themselves, by organizing the C. I. O., to unionize the great masses of unorganized workers, they were suspended from the Federation, and the labor movement no longer acted as a unit. It seems highly doubtful that the differences between the rival organizations will be composed in the near future. As a result, one may expect a continuation of the present struggle for power, with each faction attempting to gain supremacy over the labor movement. The present conflict is not unlike that which divided the A. F. of L. during its infancy and the famous Knights of Labor.



COURTESY RCA

STRANDS OF WIRE—AGENTS OF MODERN COMMUNICATION

The American Foreign Service

INTERNATIONAL crises, like the Sino-Japanese conflict or the Spanish war, or less serious disputes with foreign nations, bring the American foreign service prominently into the limelight of public attention. The men—and the few women—who represent the United States abroad hold positions as responsible as any in the entire governmental setup, for missteps on their part may cause the United States no end of embarrassment, to say nothing of more serious difficulties.

The American foreign service has greatly changed since the early days of our history when Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and John Quincy Adams were our foremost envoys. Then the representatives of the United States came from a young insignificant nation. They had to rely entirely on tact and diplomacy to gain concessions from the lordly European powers. They had to act on their own initiative, for there were no means of communication to enable them to keep in constant touch with the seat of the government. Now our foreign diplomats represent a leading world power which commands respect. Despite the fact that they can keep in constant



HARRIS & EWING
GEORGE MESSERSMITH
Assistant secretary of state in charge of foreign service officers.

touch with Washington, their tasks are extremely exacting and the difficulties they encounter great.

American Foreign Service

With the President as the nominal head, the secretary of state directs the United States Foreign Service from a rambling old building across the street from the White House. All told, there are 4,400 men and women who make up the Foreign Service, some in Washington in the Department of State itself, others in the capitals and principal cities of every nation on earth. Assisting Secretary Hull in administering the Foreign Service are the undersecretary and three assistant secretaries of state, the executives of the Foreign Service. Those whose service takes them abroad include ambassadors, ministers, consuls, secretaries, and clerks.

At one time, our representatives were divided into two departments, diplomatic and consular. There is still a division of title and duty, but the Rogers Act of 1924 brought the two branches together as the United States Foreign Service. At present there are 17 ambassadors and 40 ministers stationed abroad. There is practically no difference in functions and duties between an ambassador and a minister, the difference in title being determined by the country to which they are sent. If a foreign nation calls its chief representative in the United States an ambassador, we return the compliment by sending an ambassador. In other cases, the American representative is known as a minister.

Both ambassadors and ministers have staffs of counselors, first, second, and third secretaries, clerks, stenographers, and serv-

ants. The first duty of an ambassador or minister is to transmit official communications, but that is really only a small part of his task. He must gain the respect, confidence, and cooperation of the foreign country. He represents the American government at official functions. Much of his work is done at dinners, receptions, teas, and his success depends largely upon his ability to adjust himself to the life and the people of the country to which he is sent.

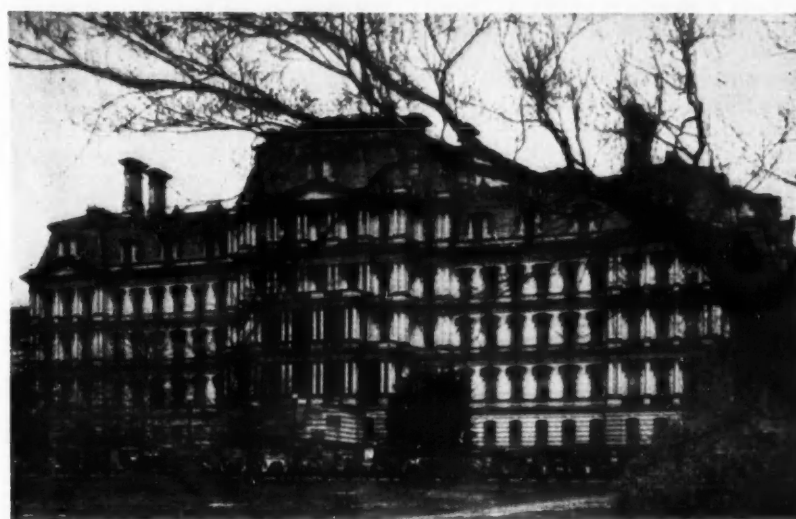
The United States government has consuls in 259 foreign cities. Although not so important as ambassadors and ministers, the consuls have great responsibilities and must handle difficult matters. The American consul, with his staff of secretaries and clerks, is well known to tourists, sailors, students, and all other citizens of the United States in foreign cities. The consuls' offices periodically send detailed reports on trade, education, military affairs—anything which might prove important for the American government to know.

In Washington

In the Department of State at Washington there are many bureaus and divisions. There is a passport division, a research department, a geographic bureau, a bureau which controls the export of munitions, a "Protocol and Conference" division which does little but arrange the seating at diplomatic functions. The economic adviser holds a responsible position, as he and his assistants furnish the information and data upon which treaties dealing with foreign trade and economic matters are based. The legal adviser's office put treaties and other agreements into language which complies with international and national law. There are also special divisions for the six regions into which the Department of State divides the world. These divisions concern themselves with all the problems affecting their regions and stand ready at all times to furnish material to the department heads. The six regional divisions are the Far Eastern, Latin American, Mexican, Western European, Eastern European, and Near Eastern.

The top positions in the Foreign Service, both at home and abroad, are filled by the President with the consent of the Senate. There are no specified or required qualifications for the positions of ambassador and minister and certain executive posts in Washington. In nearly every instance they are filled by the "spoils system." Generally the men chosen are wealthy and contribute heavily to the victorious political party.

Nominally, the President also appoints the lower officers, but he is restricted in making these appointments to members of the Foreign Service where there has developed an efficient system of promotion. Thus the personnel of the Foreign Service does not change with the political administration. The consuls, counselors, secretaries, and clerks are not affected when a new party comes into power. Before 1924, when the Rogers Act placed these offices on a basis of merit and training, the spoils system reigned throughout the diplomatic service, with entire staffs changing with the turn of political fortunes. Now, it is only in the "top" positions in our embassies and lega-



THE STATE DEPARTMENT—HEADQUARTERS OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE

tions that there is a change of personnel.

Applicants for positions in the Foreign Service must pass a rigid written examination, then an oral one, before they are admitted. Though there is no educational requirement, the examinations cover such varied subjects as international law, foreign languages, economics, history, political science, and the basic studies.

Rigid Training

Those who pass the examinations are assigned to work in some consular office for a few months. After this probationary period, they return to Washington to enter the Foreign Officers' Training School. There they spend several months under intensive training, learning the duties and requirements of their future positions. Upon appointment as secretary in a consular office, they receive a salary of \$2,500 a year, and may gradually work up to a salary of \$10,000. There are a few instances of men who have worked up to the position of ambassador or minister, but usually there is a deserving politician to be appointed.

The American Foreign Service is modeled after that of Great Britain. It is so organized as to attract men who wish to make diplomacy a career, just as they would make any other profession a career. Promotion is based almost entirely on service and seniority. Members of the service are secure in their positions as long as they do their work competently. The whole service was greatly improved by the Rogers Act, which raised salaries, prescribed entrance rules, provided training, and laid out the careful grading system for promotion.

Other Representatives

In addition to the Foreign Service representatives abroad, there are attachés from the Departments of Commerce, War, and the Navy. The military attaches keep the government posted on the military affairs of foreign nations. The representatives of the Department of Commerce are located in 32 territorial offices, scattered all over the globe. While the promotion of American foreign trade is one of the functions of the Foreign Service, it is almost the ex-

clusive duty of the Department of Commerce envoys. They take no part in the diplomatic proceedings, other than to advise and furnish needed information.

The clerks and stenographers in the Foreign Service must pass special examinations and meet special requirements as well as the regular civil service tests. They do not attend the officers' training school, and they cannot be promoted to become secretaries or consuls without going through the regular procedure of passing the tests, etc. Frequently they act as interpreters and translators. They must agree to spend two years in the country to which they are appointed.

Such is the organization which represents the United States on foreign soil and which provides the President and secretary of state the information on which they so largely depend to shape American foreign policy.

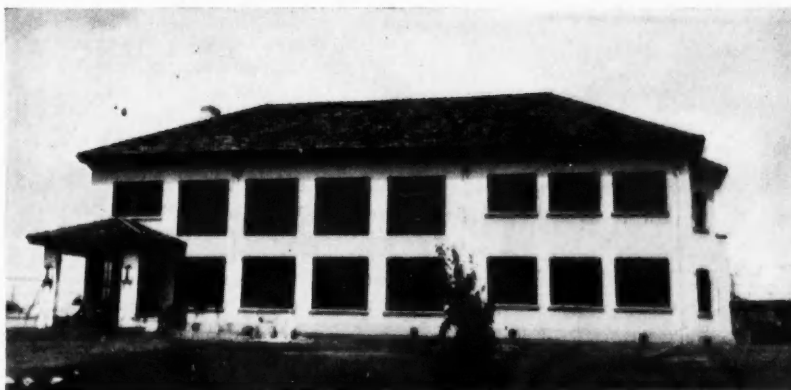
Your Vocabulary

Do you know the meaning of the italicized words in the following sentences? This idea is *repugnant*. His *retention* as president was assured. The government helped *indigent* people. The judge's ruling was *mandatory*. The angry people were *reconciled*. The universe is *infinitely* great. The orator *ranted* at the audience. The doctor *ascertained* the cause of the patient's illness. The research expert was an *auxiliary* to the factory.

If you resort to the dictionary to find the meaning of these words, be sure to check your pronunciation of them, too. All these words came from a single copy of the Ponca City (Oklahoma) News.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Explain briefly the difference in philosophy between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization.
2. What, if any, legislation do you think should be enacted to make labor unions more responsible and accountable for their acts?
3. Which type of organization, the craft union or the industrial union, do you consider best suited to the needs of American labor?
4. Name three ways in which the life of civilians in Spain has been changed by the civil war.
5. What significance do you attach to the recent conference of Mussolini and Hitler?
6. How was the American foreign service changed by the Rogers Act of 1924?
7. What are the principal functions of the Federal Communications Commission and what have been its main accomplishments since its creation?
8. What is the present attitude of the C. I. O. on sit-down strikes?
9. How have the foreign powers recently altered their positions with respect to Japan's war upon China?



THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN NANKING, CHINA

HARRIS & EWING

American Labor Again Takes Stock

(Concluded from page 1)

up of the rank and file of workers, skilled as well as unskilled, but the ones which dominated the Federation were those of the skilled workers. These workers were organized according to crafts. It was the type of work performed rather than the industry in which a worker was employed that determined the union to which he should belong. Thus the teamsters' union was made up of men who worked in any number of industries. One member may work for a brewery, another for a construction company, a third for a warehouse, and so on.

Industrial and Craft Unions

It was because the A. F. of L. did not succeed in bringing into its organization the great masses of workers that the unions now making up the C. I. O. clashed with the leadership. Men like Lewis believed that the craft-union idea was not suited to the mass-production industries, where most of the workers were unskilled. They wanted the Federation to organize such industries as the automobile, steel, rubber, and a number of others into unions composed of all the workers, regardless of the type of work performed. They wanted one union for all automobile workers, one for the steel workers, one for the rubber workers. This type of labor organization is known as an industrial union, and the big A. F. of L. unions which broke away, led by Mr. Lewis' powerful United Mine Workers of America, were organized along these lines. The basic point in the C. I. O.'s entire program is the organization of workers of all kinds into powerful industrial unions covering whole industries.

There is naturally sharp disagreement as to the merits and demerits of the two types of labor organization. Craft unionists contend that skilled workers, by forming themselves into strong organizations along craft lines, can compel employers to heed their demands. By threatening to strike, or by actually going out on strike, they can secure wage increases, shorter hours, and better working conditions, because it is not easy to replace skilled workers. As the wages of the skilled workers increase and the general conditions improve, all workers will benefit, it is argued, for similar concessions will be granted to the unskilled as well.

Those who support the craft-union idea contend that if all the workers in an industry are organized into a big industrial union, the skilled workers will not get as great benefits as they would otherwise. Since most of the union members would be unskilled workers, employers could easily replace them and the strike would be a less effective weapon. Furthermore, it is difficult to discipline great masses of workers thus organized. From the standpoint of self-interest, the craft union probably does afford greater benefits to the skilled workers. This conclusion is borne out by the long record of craft unions within the American

Federation of Labor.

The advocates of the industrial union look at labor as a whole and contend that only through their type of organization will all the workers reap benefits. The industrial unionist denies that the unskilled workers will receive concessions from employers merely because concessions are granted to the organized skilled workers. Only when organized labor represents the interests of all the workers can it truly realize the aims of labor, and powerful industrial unions can force employers to accede to their demands.

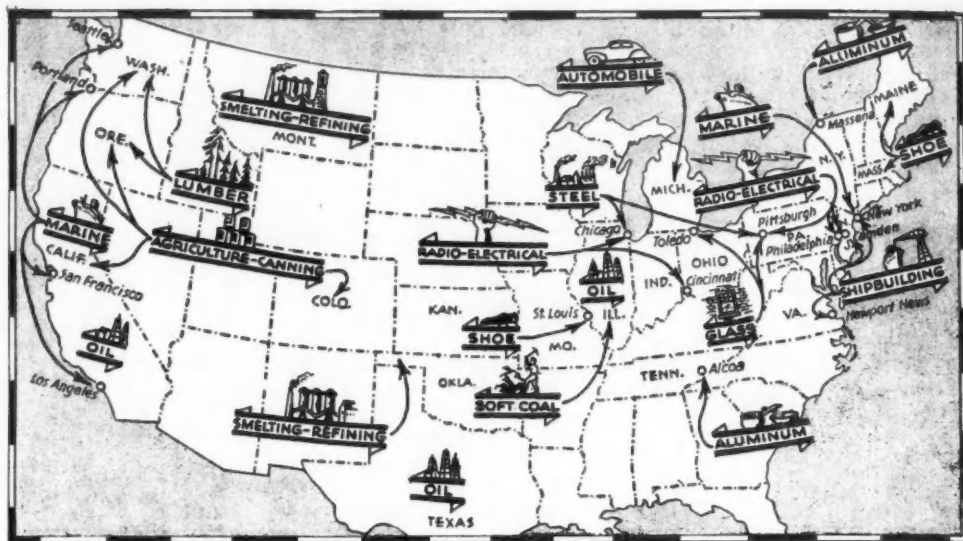
The issue, then, is not whether workers should be organized, but rather how they should be organized. The principle of labor unions is now endorsed by all leaders except a few recalcitrant individuals who remain adamant in their opposition. Heads of both political parties, as well as large numbers of industrialists, recognize the need for organization of workers, as they appreciate the fact that it is impossible for the worker in the giant industries to deal individually with his employer. Controversy arises, however, when one considers the practices and policies of the different types of organization.

Different Philosophies

Being a mass movement, the C. I. O. is naturally more radical in its general economic philosophy than the Federation. It is not, however, communist, as some of its more bitter critics have contended. John L. Lewis has come out strongly and forcefully for the system of private ownership of industry. He argues that what labor wants is not to get the ownership of property, but merely to improve its standards through higher wages and shorter hours. He points out that the workers of England have long been organized and that they have not installed communism in that country. There is no reason to believe that the American workers would support a radical system of government.

Others see great danger ahead if the millions of unskilled workers are organized into powerful unions. Once they are so organized, it is argued, it would be easy for ruthless leaders to sway their emotions and to turn this mighty army of workingmen into a fascist or communist movement. They might seize and operate all industries, just as some of them recently used the sit-down strike to gain their ends, thus taking possession of property which did not belong to them.

The C. I. O. has demonstrated that it believes in more direct political action than the Federation of Labor. During the last campaign, it was a potent force and its support of President Roosevelt had considerable effect upon the outcome of the election. Lewis and some of his supporters have even hinted that they would form a labor party if they cannot achieve their ends through either of the two parties. The Federation, on the other hand, has always steered away from such tactics. Occasionally it will en-



THE PRINCIPAL BATTLE FRONTS IN THE A. F. OF L.-C. I. O. WAR

dorse a candidate for office, but it has never considered the formation of a labor party.

During the last few months, it has been charged that the C. I. O. is not responsible, that it fails to live up to the agreements it makes with employers. It is true that in certain instances, agreements have been broken. This has been the case when the workers were dissatisfied with the terms of the agreements made by the leaders and their employers. In these cases, they have broken with their leaders and declared strikes on their own initiative. These strikes have resulted in considerable embarrassment and loss of prestige to the whole C. I. O. movement.

Recently, there have been fewer of these strikes and the discipline of the union members has improved. At the present time, according to the United States News, "newer and rapidly growing unions are building up stronger centralized control over their members, assuring fewer sit-down and unauthorized strikes and strengthening the position of unions in reaching agreements with the large companies." In most cases, pledges made in contracts between C. I. O. unions and employers have been scrupulously executed by both parties.

The split between the Federation and the C. I. O. has caused much trouble to the National Labor Relations Board. When a dispute arises in a particular plant, the Labor Relations Board may hold an election to see whether the majority of workers want the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. union to represent them in dealing with employers. When the C. I. O. union wins such an election, it demands the right to represent all the workers in a plant, including the skilled workers. The A. F. of L. contends that it should be allowed to speak for the skilled workers whose unions are affiliated with it. No end of trouble has been caused by disputes of this kind.

Proposed Legislation

During the coming months, it is likely that considerable attention will be given to the question whether laws should be passed to make labor unions more responsible. It is pointed out that the National Labor Relations Board compels employers to treat their workers fairly, and it is argued that similar obligations should be placed upon the unions. Senator Vandenberg of Michigan has proposed a law which would deprive unions of the right to represent workers if they fail to live up to the agreements made. He says that if labor unions are going to increase in power, they must be made more responsible for their acts.

Another exponent of this point of view is the prominent commentator, Walter Lippmann, who points to England where the unions are responsible and may be held accountable for the sums of money they collect, for carrying out their terms of agreements made, and for other acts. He goes on to say, however, that such legislation

would be rendered ineffective in this country by the unwillingness of a number of powerful industrialists to oppose to the bitter end all forms of independent labor organization. "Let us not forget," he writes in his column in the New York Herald-Tribune, "that the British have been able to regulate the unions because they accept them as normal and necessary. They could not have regulated them if the unions were what Mr. Girdler would like them to be—weak, disorganized, and still fighting to exist."

SMILES

"Why did you tear the back out of that new book?" asked the long-suffering wife of the absent-minded doctor.

"Excuse me dear," said the famous surgeon, "the part you speak of was labeled 'appendix' and I took it out without thinking."

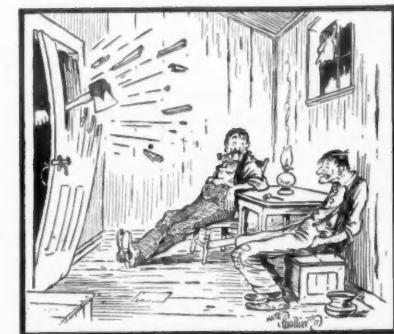
—BOY'S LIFE

"I think it is very poor taste when people ask personal questions."

"So do I—Sue asked me the other day how much John earned a week."

"How horrid! What did you tell her?"

—Montreal Star



"SEE WHO'S AT THE DOOR, HANK. I THINK SOMEONE WANTS IN."

COLLIER IN BOY'S LIFE

The owner of a cafe in the shadow of a Manhattan office building paints his daily menu on the roof. In practice, however, the meal is not on the house. —Detroit News

There must be a lot of golfers in your office building.

What makes you think so?

Well, I called out "four" in the elevator and everybody ducked!

—BOY'S LIFE

State College scientist tells of glass far stronger than steel. When automobiles are made of that you can tell if the motor or anything else is missing.

—Philadelphia BULLETIN

"Six Houses Stolen in Dayton, Ohio."—Headline. It is understood that the authorities are alertly watching the premises and expect to nab the thieves when they return for the lots.

—Washington Post

Guide: "Why didn't you shoot that tiger?" Timid Hunter: "He—he didn't have the right kind of expression for a rug." —SELECTED

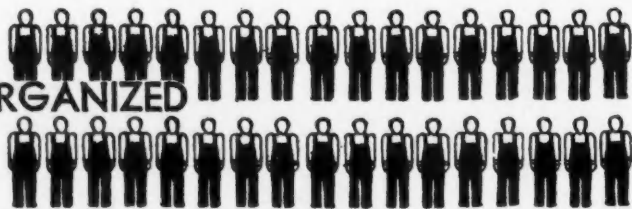
A. F. of L.



C. I. O.



UNORGANIZED



THE RANKS OF LABOR
Each figure represents one million workers.